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THE NATIONAL Voter

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U. S.

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Whose River Is It?



Chances are that your community has some kind of water problem and that other communities in your state, your state as a whole, and bordering states, share in it. In most cases the problem involves a river.

Rivers in their natural course are no respecters of the political boundaries made by man—state borders. And, if "your" river crosses the state line, your state will have to cross governmental lines to solve your problem. A river basin is a phenomenon of nature; it is generally accepted as a concept for water-resource development—but it is not a governmental unit.

So how would you propose to solve your problem? What choices of machinery already in existence do you have? How has such machinery worked where it has been tried?

INTERSTATE COMPACT?

The Interstate Compact offers one approach. Two or more states may enter into a compact by, first, passing enabling legislation in their respective legislatures, and, second, obtaining the consent of Congress, because the federal Constitution says: "No state shall, without the consent of Congress . . . enter into any agreement or compact with another state . . ."

Compacts may be entered into for various purposes, of course. There are at least 465 to which Congress has consented; 390 of these are for civil defense. Of the 75 others, 70 have to do in some way with water, covering such matters as pollution, conservation, waterworks, interstate bridges and tunnels, port authorities, urban development, adjustment and juris-

diction of boundary waters, and river development and management.

After an interstate compact is set up, the states party to it establish a commission or board to administer it. Federal representatives participate in the work of some commissions but not necessarily all. At present the federal government provides representatives or observers to sit regularly with 14 interstate compact commissions. The power of these federal representatives varies. In the Yellowstone River Compact Commission, for example, the federal representative is chairman and may vote to break a tie; in other commissions, he may be chairman with a vote equal to votes of other members, a chairman without a vote, a chairman serving as arbitrator if chosen by the commission, or merely a member with a vote.

With very few exceptions, interstate compacts have been used to carry out specific and limited programs, such as pollution abatement in the case of the Potomac River Basin and the Ohio Valley, or allocation of water in the Western states. However, some experts feel that a river-basin planning entity could be established by an interstate compact; it would include federal representation and would have responsibility

for coordination of river-basin development.

The rule of unanimity sometimes makes it difficult even to set up a compact. All participating states must agree upon terms of a compact at its inception; the same applies, of course, to any amendments.

The rule of unanimity also sometimes hampers operations. It causes less of a problem in the Western states, where the issue is one of water supply, for there is a rigid formula for apportioning available water. It causes more of a problem under compacts regulating pollution, for waste discharged by an industrial area upstream in one state may cause a pollution situation in an agricultural area downstream in another state, yet both states must reconcile this conflict of interests and agree on a solution.

Financing is also difficult, since a compact commission has no independent source of revenue and must depend on multistate financing.

However, the fact remains that the interstate compact is one of the few available means of unifying and making binding state responsibility for dealing with interstate problems.

PORT AUTHORITY?

Perhaps you will want to examine the workings of the New York Port Authority, only Port Authority of its kind, involving as it does more than one state.

The New York Port Authority is a quasi-public, independent agency based on an interstate compact between New York and New Jersey. It is the oldest Authority in the United

TO ALL LEAGUE MEMBERS

The national By-laws provide that "any member may send suggestions to the chairman of the Nominating Committee." If you wish to submit a name or names for national office in the League for 1960-62, please send your suggestions to Mrs. Henry Killen, 1227 Golden Lane, Orlando, Florida, to reach her no later than June 15, 1959.

States, established in 1921 along the lines of the London Port Authority. While it follows the general pattern of compacts in that it was set up to do a specific job—to develop the port—it is different in that the job itself is a comprehensive one.

New York and New Jersey decided on a quasi-public corporation as their choice of the body to develop terminal transportation facilities, to improve, protect, and promote the commerce of the port district. Today the New York Port Authority operates ship, rail, and bus terminals, four bridges, two tunnels, four airports, one heliport. It owns the third largest office building in the world, and other valuable, revenue-producing facilities.

The NYPA is an example of a legal device which has some attractions; e.g., it may issue revenue-bear-

ing bonds on its own, outside the debt limits imposed on the city by the state. In the case of the New York Port Authority, the Holland and Lincoln tunnels are sure money-makers and are the basis of credit for issuing tax-exempt bonds bearing 3.5 percent interest. Thus the NYPA derives its income not from taxes but from the collection of tolls and fees.

The New York Port Authority is considered the classic example of the independent Authority. Its officers are appointed for six-year terms by the Governors of New York and New Jersey, and are said to be free from public or political pressures at either the local or state level.

This form of government, the Authority, is the fastest-growing division of local government in the United States today, but increasing use of it has alarmed many political scientists

and administrators.

Those who are wary of the system feel that it is undemocratic because officials are not accountable to the electorate. In the case of the New York Port Authority, critics feel that decisions are made in terms of a limited public, i.e., motorists who pay tolls, and the bond market.

In defense of the Authority device, Robert Moses, New York City Park Commissioner, and chairman of two New York Authorities (State Power Authority, City Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority), says: "The nearest thing to business in government is the public authority, which is business with private capital under public auspices, established only when both private enterprise and routine government have failed to meet an urgent need." He states that the system is often attacked as being

Keeping Up With League Program

(as of March 10)

FOREIGN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: The legislative battle over aid for foreign economic development is just beginning and promises to be a bitter fight, extending well into the summer months. It will be fought through piece by piece, for this year it is not all wrapped up in the Mutual Security Program legislation as in the last few years.

First to come up will be additional funds for fiscal 1959 for the Development Loan Fund.

In 1957 the 85th Congress created the Development Loan Fund, authorized \$1.125 billion for its operation, and appropriated \$300 million for its first year of operation. In 1958 the Administration asked for an appropriation of \$625 million under the same authorization but Congress appropriated only \$400 million, telling the Administration to come back before the end of the fiscal year if this amount was not sufficient to carry on the work of the Fund.

Now most of the money in the Fund has been committed, and proposals for financing other projects in the developing countries are piling up.

So the Administration has asked Congress to appropriate the additional \$225 million before the end of fiscal 1959. So far the House Appropriations Committee has taken no action on this request and there are

indications that it may not be included in the supplementary appropriation bill which will soon be reported to the House.

Now is the time to enlist your Representative's help in getting quick action on this deficiency appropriation.

Coming up next may be action in support of an increase in the U.S. quota of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). (In the case of the Bank this would be in the form of guarantees by the Treasury.) Companion bills have been introduced in the House and Senate which would do this by amending the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize a \$1.375 billion increase for the Fund and a doubling of the U.S. subscription to the Bank. The Senate bill, S. 1094, is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; the House bill, H.R.4452, will be considered by the House Banking and Currency Committee.

LOYALTY-SECURITY: Although the 85th Congress last summer failed to pass S.1411 as amended, the bill which would have extended the Federal Security Program to cover nonsensitive as well as sensitive positions in the Government, the legislation has been reintroduced in the House.

(For the story of what happened to S.1411 as amended, see THE NATIONAL VOTER, November 1958.)

These companion bills are H.R. 1161, H.R.1870, and H.R.1989, introduced, resp., by Representatives Rees (R., Kan.), Murray (D., Tenn.), and Walter (D., Pa.). They were all referred to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (Representative Murray is chairman of this Committee.)

These bills propose extension of the security program by deeming that all federal government employees are employed in activities involving national security. Thus this part (section 3) of the bills would counteract the Supreme Court decision in Cole v. Young, which limited the program to those Government employees in sensitive positions. Representative Murray has said that if his bill fails to pass an attempt will be made to extend the coverage of the program through a legislative rider attached to some other bill.

Like S.1411 as amended, the new bills also propose some safeguards, such as discretionary rather than mandatory suspension of employees, and procedures for appeal and review.

The House Post Office and Civil Service Committee may hold open hearings, and the League has asked to testify in order to state its position that extension of coverage of the program is unnecessary and undesirable.

Letters to all members of the House are timely now.

"essentially undemocratic" because it is "too independent of daily pressures, too unreachable by the boys."

VALLEY AUTHORITY?

The Tennessee Valley Authority is also unique. It is the prototype of basin-wide programs of multipurpose projects, and is the nearest approach to a framework for comprehensive regional development in this country.

The Tennessee Valley is mainly in Tennessee, but includes parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia—an area the size of England. There are six million people in the area.

TVA was established by Congress

in 1933. The Tennessee Valley Act of that year authorized flood control, development of navigation, and development of public power as the primary aims, but also mentioned "the proper use, conservation, and development of natural resources . . . production and sale of cheap fertilizer, reforestation, proper use of marginal lands."

TVA does not have absolute power in the Tennessee Basin. It is administered by a board of three appointed by the President for nine-year terms. It has its own installations and staff, and owns some of the land. But it has no enforcement authority and, except for power, flood control,

and navigation, must depend upon cooperation on the part of other governmental agencies, local to federal, as well as that of various private industries and businesses.

For example, one half of the land encompassed by TVA is in forests, 82 percent of which are privately owned; TVA's forestry division gives its assistance through state forestry departments. In 1933 there were no state or local parks in the area; now there are 65, but TVA operates none of them.

The financing of TVA is from two sources. Congress makes an annual appropriation for nonrevenue programs. The remainder of the financing comes almost entirely from sale



FROM THE

PRESIDENT'S DESK

Though this comes to you in March, it is mid-February as I write, and here in Washington a joint session of Congress has just heard Carl Sandburg give luminous contemporary meaning to Lincoln's admonitions that "the dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. We must think anew, we must act anew, we must disenthral ourselves."

Could there be wiser words as we in the League prepare for our role in the critical months ahead in the legislative halls of this country? Our responsibility toward national League Program is clear in the fields of foreign economic aid, loyalty-security, and other areas within the province of Congress; we shall need to be ever alert to opportunities to discharge that responsibility. We shall need to be equally alert to the deliberations in state legislatures and municipal bodies, where many of us will face problems as old as our state constitutions and as new as the rapidly expanding urbanization around core cities.

Our ideal in the League is to achieve our purpose; our hope, to increase our effectiveness. We can do both in the coming months, as an organization and as individual members, by making our influence count in legislation which is to be enacted in our Program areas.

* * *

Speaking of the League's purpose,

the League's effectiveness, I want to report to you the most recent progress in the "Michigan Survey."

It was in the spring of 1956 that the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan received a grant from the Schwarztaupt Foundation to do a study of the League of Women Voters, a study designed in part to gain scientific data on what makes for local League effectiveness. Perhaps you are one of those who were questioned on such matters as member participation, qualities of leadership, why women join our organization, the reaction of the public toward us.

When the research was completed, compilations were made and five volumes of data were sent to each state League. In addition, a publication summarizing some of the findings, "Leadership for Effective Leagues," was prepared and was introduced at Convention in connection with a presentation by Dr. Rensis Likert, who had directed the study.

Now we are ready to take the next step. In late December of 1958, the Schwarztaupt Foundation made a second grant to the Survey Research Center for use in working with the League to utilize the survey findings. There are two major steps required of local Leagues if they wish to apply the findings: first, to study and understand the research results; second, to develop techniques through which changes may be effected.

To take the second step, a "self-survey" is recommended. To help in this, another publication, "Self-Survey Manual for the League of Women Voters of the United States," is now ready.

Several of us from the national Board and staff, along with Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Likert, met late in January with Survey Research Center staff and made some long-range plans. We agreed that four local Leagues should make pilot studies, based upon the Self-Survey Manual and conducted under the supervision of the Center's staff with national and state Board members and national staff taking part.

In selecting the four pilot Leagues our aim was to find a variety in communities and Leagues which would be reasonably characteristic of the League as a whole. Our aim was also to select communities in four different states, which would be within the pecuniary limits of the grant and within geographical proximity to Ann Arbor.

A core city, a small city, a suburb, and a town were chosen. The Leagues are, in that order, Detroit, Michigan; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Hinsdale, Illinois; Fremont, Ohio.

We regard the pilot projects as an important experiment valuable to the League of Women Voters as a whole.

For the next year or so our eyes will be turned toward the pilot Leagues, and we are confident that from their test experiences we shall learn how best to conduct self-surveys of our own.

Ruth S. Phillips

of power generated by TVA installations. TVA has the largest power system in the United States, producing 60 billion kilowatts per year.

More than half of the output, 57 percent, goes to federal installations. The other 43 percent is sold to 151 local systems which distribute it to consumers.

The revenue is first used to pay for operation and maintenance of power installations, and to pay states and municipalities in lieu of taxes. Net profits are held in cash reserve, reinvested in expansion of installations, or paid in cash to the U.S. Treasury in repayment of federal appropriations which made possible the establishment of the Authority.

TVA has always been a controversial issue. Regardless of the continuing debate, TVA remains the first "completely engineered river" in history. It has not so far been imitated in this country, but it has served as the pattern for similar development in Iran, India, and other countries.

TVA has, at the very least, served as an example and a test of cooperation of governmental agencies on a widespread scale, a whole river basin. Dr. Gilbert White writes that it has had large nuisance value "in forcing livelier activity and coordination among federal agencies where the independent agency threatened."

INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE?

Coordination among federal agencies at the river-basin level also exists in Interagency Committees. Their activities are generally limited to planning around existing authorized projects. An Interagency Committee is composed of a representative of each state in the basin and a representative of each federal agency working in the basin. Coordination is achieved on a relatively informal basis. The committees meet infrequently. They act only on matters on which there is unanimous agreement; controversial issues are usually avoided.

So far, five Interagency Committees have been created. Three of these, the Missouri, the Columbia, and the Pacific Southwest Interagency Committees, established in the 1946-1948 period, are still in existence; they are voluntary, continuing bodies. (They were set up by the Federal Interagency River Basin Committee—"Firebrick"—which was superseded in 1954 by the federal In-

teragency Committee on Water Resources, known as "Icewater." The latter is composed of a principal policy official of the Departments of Agriculture, Army, Commerce, Health-Education-Welfare, Interior, and of the Federal Power Commission.)

The other two Interagency Committees, the Arkansas-White-Red River Interagency Committee, or AWRBIC, and the New England-

New York Interagency Committee, or NENYIAC, were created under the Federal Flood Control Act of 1950. The AWRBIC and NENYIAC survey reports were submitted to the 85th Congress and the committees went out of existence.

The AWRBIC is considered to have achieved a high degree of coordination; even so, its work was largely confined to fitting together agency plans so as to prevent direct or total duplication.

The Task Force Reports of the Second Hoover Commission had this to say about the AWRBIC experience: "It would appear essential that in the future Congress clearly spell out in the authorization the agency responsibilities, and that the Executive provide all necessary ground rules to assure the maximum coordination possible under the law . . . The difficulties arise from lack of national policies and procedures as well as lack of adequate governmental organization and administrative machinery to handle the problem."

STUDY COMMISSIONS?

The latest type of governmental machinery established to handle river-basin planning is the study commission "to provide for an integrated and cooperative investigation, study, and survey" of river basins. Two such commissions were established by the 85th Congress, one for certain river basins in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama; the other, for Texas basins.

These study commissions are considered to be an approach to effecting the recommendation for the establishment of regional or river-basin water-resource committees as set forth in the Report by the Presidential Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy, and are also considered to be a technique for possibly paving the way for more state activity in the water-resource field.

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The diversity of the alternative forms of machinery designed to solve water problems across state lines serves to point up the differing water problems as well as varying political realities in different parts of the nation.

An analysis of various proposals for reorganizing water-resource machinery on the federal level will be made in a later issue of THE NATIONAL VOTER.

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